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The Chouteau Family and the Osage Trade:

A Generational Study

TANIS CHAPMAN THORNE

With the publication of Jennifer Brown's Strangers in Blood and Sylvia Van Kirk's "Many Tender Ties," a social history of mixed-blood families in the fur trade is fast acquiring form and discipline. This trend in scholarship has been accelerated by the redefinition of the fur trade as, in John Elgin Foster's words, "a set of politico-economic alliances, linking various Indian bands and the traders of different trading systems."¹ Marriages between traders and Indian women, it has been argued, cemented trade alliances by facilitating political harmony and economic cooperation.²

I would like to discuss the significance of kinship ties in the American fur trade, specifically the trade between the Creoles of St. Louis and the Osage Indians. Such a study is necessary because of the neglect that French fur traders have suffered in the historical literature. The eminent American historian Howard Lamar called for such a study in 1977,

writing that the key to understanding the American fur trade is through an investigation of how the "traditional French bi-cultural approach worked in North America."³

From the time of its founding in 1764 to the mid-19th century, the city of St. Louis, Missouri, was the entrepôt of the fur trade of the American West, and no family rose to greater wealth and prominence than the Chouteaus. The foundation for the family's wealth was in its trade with the Osage, a numerous, Siouian-speaking tribe, which occupied lands along the lower Missouri River in the late 18th century. The Osage's military prowess, their proximity to St. Louis, and their predisposition to hunt and to engage in the fur trade made this tribe a much-coveted trading partner by St. Louis residents.⁴

The Chouteau half brothers, Rene Auguste (1749-1829) and (Jean) Pierre (1758-1849), were trading with the Osage as early as 1777. In

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1794, the Chouteau brothers obtained a monopoly over the Osage trade from the Spanish government, which they enjoyed until 1802 when Manuel Lisa persuaded the Spanish authorities to turn the monopoly over to him and his associates.⁵ Undaunted, Pierre convinced a major portion of the tribe to move southwest into Oklahoma away from Lisa's jurisdiction. Later, the Americans established an Osage factory and permitted only a few licensed traders to enter Indian country. After the demise of the factory system in 1822, the Chouteau family rapidly resumed its trade dominance under the leadership of a second and third generation. How the Chouteaus maintained their supremacy as preferred trading partners to the Osage, in view of the heavy competition for this valuable ally, has not been explained satisfactorily by historians, yet ample testimony attests to the dominance, if not monopoly, enjoyed by the Chouteaus. One government agent spoke before the United States Senate in 1833 about "the unlimited influence the Chouteaus seem to possess over the Osage Nation."⁶ The authority on Indian relations in the Southwest, Grant Foreman, wrote: "Other traders came from time to time, one after another to share the field; but the Chouteaus, firmly entrenched in the confidence of the Indians and the ways of the business, outlasted them all."⁷

While it would be imprudent to underestimate the political and economic power wielded by this important St. Louis family, the key to the Chouteaus' success, I believe, was the social relationship that developed among the Chouteaus, their employees, and the Osage. That the Chouteaus would have entered into marital alliances with the women of the tribes with whom they traded would be no departure from established practice in St. Louis, where their "many intermarriages produced a tight core of social and business eminence," as one historian has written.⁸ Moreover, the Indians of the lower Missouri River saw marriage alliances as a

precursor to trade. Perrin du Lac, for example, described a trade expedition of 1802 in which he was feted in turn by Kansas headmen and, "according to their customs," was offered their daughters. "I accepted those of a great chief," he wrote, "whom I was afraid of displeasing by a refusal"⁹

The standard works on St. Louis and its founding families are silent on the Indian branches of the Chouteau family.¹⁰ The descendants of the family in St. Louis have been extremely anxious to represent themselves, like Natty Bumppo in the Leatherstocking Tales, as a people with "no cross." Few historians disputed their self-deception until the 1920s and 1930s when Nettie Beauregard, archivist and librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, compiled and analyzed materials on the Indian Chouteaus. The existing records generally corroborate her conclusion that the mixed-blood Chouteaus living in Oklahoma were descendants of Pierre Chouteau, Sr.'s sons, August Pierre and Paul Liquest, but some evidence supports John Joseph Mathew's minority opinion that August and/or Pierre, Sr., had children by Osage women as well.¹¹ For example, on 2 August 1792, a license was granted "mestiso" Antonio Chouteau to employ five persons in trade on the Missouri River.¹² Other evidence includes the St. Louis Catholic Church records of 1803, which reveal the burial of an infant son, Francois, and the baptism of another, Antoine, born of one Paul Chouteau and an Osage Indian woman.¹³ When Reverend Charles de la Croix made the first visit of a clergyman to the Osage country in 1822, he baptized numerous mixed-bloods, including Antoine Chouteau born in 1817, Susanne born in 1813 at the "appartement a Paul P. Chouteau," and James born in 1815 of Francois Chouteau.¹⁴ Thus, we have the identities of at least three Chouteaus--Antonio, Francois, and Paul, all born before 1800--who are not found in the genealogical records of legitimate Chouteau children and who were

associated either by blood or by residence with the Osage. Apparently some mixed-blood Chouteaus were flourishing before the second generation established itself in the Osage country.

The precise dates of birth and parentage of the above-mentioned persons would be impossible to determine, but from the existing evidence it is possible to construct some tentative hypotheses about the Chouteaus' relationship to their mixed-blood kin and to mixed-bloods in general in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These hypotheses bring into question the popular conception of mixed-bloods as "marginal" people.¹⁵ First, mixed-bloods enjoyed some freedom of movement between Indian country and St. Louis and its environs. Second, they were socially accepted in the Creole communities where the economies were based on the fur trade. Third, many mixed-bloods were exposed to Creole culture--its customs, religion, and language--and were partially or completely acculturated.¹⁶ Fourth, the Chouteau family maintained a close relationship with men of Indian-kin connections, engaging them as interpreters and agents and thereby consciously manipulating kinship ties for economic and political advantage.

Such an assessment finds support in Washington Irving's description of early 19th-century St. Louis: "The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered around them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians, mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Indians. These they employed in their various expeditions by land and water."¹⁷ Further evidence for the hypotheses can be found by documenting the long and intimate association of the Chouteaus with the mixed-blood Mongrain and Lambert families. The Chouteaus' acquaintance with these families can be traced to the 1790s. As commander of Fort Carondelet, the Spanish trading post in western Missouri, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., probably had occasion to have

dealings with Noel Mongrain, whose mother was the aunt of Chief White Hair and who married the daughter of White Hair, Marie Pahushan. Joseph Lambert, like Noel Mongrain, had lived in the Osage country and had an Osage wife and children; one offspring of Lambert and four of Mongrain were baptized in St. Louis between 1801 and 1803.¹⁸

With the changeover to American rule in 1803 and Pierre Chouteau's appointment as commissioner of Indian affairs, Pierre hired Noel as government interpreter and Joseph as blacksmith to the Osage, positions which they held for many years. Pierre always personally paid the salaries of these men, and he was pressed in 1806 to answer charges that he hired his debtors or old employees to fill government posts. The loyalty of these employees, it was suspected, was first to Pierre Chouteau and not to the United States.¹⁹ Although they occupied well-paying positions as public servants, Noel and Pierre saw no reason to curtail their trading activities. In late 1804 Pierre asked for a license to trade with the White Hair and Grand Piste bands, and in 1805 he dispatched Noel to interpret for his four traders at Chouteau's Arkansas post. After Pierre was appointed agent for the Osage in 1807, he continued to promote his own interests with the cooperation of Noel Mongrain. The Osage treaty of 1808, for example, gave sizable land grants to them both.²⁰

Whether Pierre Chouteau had intended the site for his 1808 land claim to become an outpost for trading and trapping expeditions is not clear, but such an outpost, called Cote Sans Dessein, was established in the same year under the direction of the Roy brothers. This settlement of French-Canadians and Osage mixed-bloods was located at the mouth of the Osage River and was part of a Spanish land grant made in 1800 to Baptiste Duchoquette. It was in a key location for travel and trade up the Missouri

and to the Osage villages. The area was also rich in beaver, deer, and bear, and most of the inhabitants lived by hunting and trapping. Duchoquette sold the grant to Pierre Chouteau in 1816. Historian Ovid Bell was convinced Duchoquette had been a "straw man" in securing the grant, and that it was Pierre Chouteau who promoted the post "for his gain."²¹

From 1802 to 1822, then, Chouteau family influence with the Osage did not necessarily wane. Pierre Chouteau--through his agency appointments, his friendship with the Mongrains and Lamberts, his legal and illegal trading operations, his kin connections with Osage Indians, and his involvement in Cotes Sans Dessein--maintained a watchful eye over the Osage trade. Thus, when the second-generation Chouteaus entered the trade between 1810 and 1820, they possessed many advantages over other prospective Osage traders: their fathers' political and economic power; their introduction at an early age to the bicultural society of traders, trappers, and interpreters from the Osage country; and their familiarity with Osage customs and language.

The sons of Pierre Chouteau, Sr., August Pierre (1786-1838) and Paul Lquest (1792-1851), formed a partnership to trade with the Osage after Lquest's partner, a mixed-blood adopted by the Osage, was killed by Cherokee in 1821. The partners lost no time in exploiting the loyalties of the Mongrains and Lamberts. August (hereafter A. P.) persuaded two Osage bands to come with him to the Three Forks of the Arkansas where he directed trade operations. The Lamberts and other mixed-blood families willingly accompanied this migration.²² Pierre Mellicour Papin (1793-1849), the younger Chouteau's first cousin, was transferred from western Missouri to the Neosho River post, La Saline; here A. P. wrote to him in January 1824 to "send for Baptiste Noel [Mongrain] and have him bring the Indians[.] Pay their credit and make the trade

at once...."²³ A few days later, A. P. wrote again saying he agreed that it would be impossible to stop Baptiste's "talk ..., but while we have him, let us get out of him what we can." When Mongrain died ten years later, Papin was genuinely bereaved.²⁴

Other historians have adequately described the careers of A. P. and Lquest Chouteau in the Osage trade.²⁵ While one must be careful not to oversimplify or to denigrate the importance of other factors contributing to the successful consolidation of the trade after the demise of the factory system, it is not inappropriate to point out the significance of kinship ties in the trade operations of the second-generation Chouteaus. Trusted relatives--half brothers, first cousins, nephews--were put in charge of strategically placed posts, and mixed-bloods were effectively used as a labor force: to accompany bands on seasonal hunts, to run messages, and to transport goods by wagon and keelboat.²⁶ Although they had white wives in St. Louis, the Chouteaus' adoption of the "custom of the country" in taking Indian wives also helped, for it gained them the trust of the Indians and mixed-bloods.

A. P. may have had as many as seven children by five Osage women before 1825; at least two of these women were sisters, the daughters of Joseph Lambert.²⁷ Paul Lquest fathered six children by at least three different Osage women between 1824 and 1832.²⁸ Cousins Pierre Mellicour Papin and A. A. Chouteau also had mixed-blood children; one of Papin's wives was Noel Mongrain's daughter Sophie. In the late 1830s, Papin was living with her in the Nion-cho (Neosho) village where her brothers were important headmen.²⁹ Among the Osage, polygamy was a standard practice, and they approved of early marriages for females. The traders appear to have readily adapted to these customs. A. P. may have fathered children by young women barely 13 years of age.³⁰

Although the Catholic and Protestant missionaries who became active in the Osage country after 1820 generally had very harmonious relationships with the traders and agents, they were less than sanguine when they observed what they considered to be immoral sexual practices. In letters to authorities in Washington, D.C., one missionary openly criticized "the too common illicit and adulterous intercourse among the Indian women" practiced by traders and agents. The missionary thus precipitated a feud with the Chouteaus, which ended with the "obnoxious" clergyman being ejected from Indian country.³¹

Though they may have lost the battle, the missionaries had not lost the war. They had a strong influence on the mixed-bloods with whom they established their missions, and more monogamous marital arrangements seem to have prevailed.³² The sexual alliances of A. P. Chouteau may not have been as promiscuous as they certainly appear, for much evidence supports the view that Rosalie Lambert maintained a fairly stable relationship with A. P. over fifteen years. Rosalie, her brother Antoine, and Rosalie's and her sister Masina's four children were given land allotments at A. P.'s La Saline post by Article 5 of the Osage Treaty of 1825. This accounts for six of the eight mixed-blood allottees for whom A. P. became official guardian in 1835. With all good intentions, according to historians Janet Lecompte and Grant Foreman, A. P. sold these lands and invested in 32 Negro slaves, which were to be his legacy to his mixed-blood heirs. Unfortunately, when A. P. died deeply in debt in 1838, some of the Negroes were seized by creditors and others ran away. Agent Monteford Stokes, who knew the family, successfully petitioned the government to recover the losses of A. P.'s "widow" and heirs. Curiously, the United States government recognized the legitimacy of A. P.'s Osage family while A. P.'s white wife and six children in St. Louis, whom he had abandoned earlier, were left

penniless.³³ Pierre Mellicour's son by the Osage woman Mitchage fared even better. Two years after he was born in 1847, P. M. Papin, Jr., was willed all of his father's lands in Bates County, Missouri, and \$3000 in trust for his maintenance and education.³³

One of Paul Lquest's children received a land allotment in Missouri according to the terms of the treaty of 1825, but Lquest did not recognize his mixed-blood children in his will. He did acknowledge his illegitimate white son, Edward (1813-59). Although he was a "natural" son, Edward received a good education at St. Mary's College before he entered the Osage country where he became a successful and well-liked trader. His generous character is described by Joseph LaBarge, Jr., the Missouri River steamboat captain, who relates how Edward came to his aid with food and blankets at personal risk to himself. Edward married Rosalie Captaine (1809-88), member of a prominent mixed-blood family who had connections with the Beaver band. When he retired, Edward returned to St. Louis and married a white woman. As he had been remembered by his father, Edward in turn gave his three surviving children by Rosalie an annuity for life in his will.³⁵ Two of these children, Sophie and Louis, later followed the family tradition and became traders.³⁶

Paul Lquest's mixed-blood progeny were raised in a social and cultural environment distinct from that of the full-blood Osage. The mixed-blood Osage, who comprised a "half-breed band" numbering 250 in the enrollment of 1870, tended to reside close to the missions, posts, and agencies, and were exposed to many "civilizing" influences. Lquest's children, along with their cousins, were among those who built log cabins for dwellings, received some education at the missions, owned farms and ranches, and who were given special recognition by the government in treaty negotiations. They

typically intermarried with other mixed-bloods or whites rather than Indians. Two third-generation Chouteaus, Gesso (A. P.'s son) and Peter (Liquet's son) were among the 19 Osage who applied to become citizens in 1870.³⁷ A. P.'s other mixed-blood children spent most of their lives in southeastern Oklahoma near the emigrant Cherokee rather than the Osage, and they appear to have been adopted by the Cherokee tribe after his death.³⁸

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the kinship among the Chouteaus, their employees, and the Osage created a web of loyalty and familiarity that provided the Chouteau family with an entrepreneurial edge in the fur trade. The extremely successful first generation maintained strong economic and social ties with the Osage, but they resided in St. Louis and identified with the society there. Mixed-blood children by the first generation Chouteaus may have received some assistance in becoming traders or interpreters, but they were not publicly acknowledged. The second generation Chouteaus appear to have departed from patterns set by their fathers by breaking social ties with St. Louis, leaving their white families behind, forming unions with Indian women, and becoming permanent residents in the Indian country. The paternity of mixed-blood children was acknowledged, and some of the children were even included in wills.

One could argue that the decision to abandon St. Louis and adopt the "customs of the country" was not voluntary. Like many other traders, the second generation had a fondness for drink, a penchant for indebtedness, and a tendency towards profligacy common to the privileged sons of wealthy parents. Physical deformity and illegitimacy also numbered among their defects. Although joining the Indians may have been an escape, it was also a sound occupational choice. Because of the Chouteau connections, the fur-trading profession promised a reasonable measure

of economic security and a great deal of prestige, power, and personal freedom.

In a sense, the second generation behaved conservatively. In accompanying the French Creoles in their exodus from St. Louis and away from the Americans who were transforming the city, they were preserving for a time a pattern of social relations and a way of life known by their fathers. This was a way of life in which respect for and accommodation to Indian ways were taken for granted and in which inter-marriage with Indians was a means of economic mobility and not the cause for social ostracism.

The experience of the third-generation Chouteaus bears out this latter interpretation. This was not a generation suffering from social anomie due to the neglect of irresponsible parents, but a generation firmly attached to the Creole culture and the Catholic Church. Recent American historians have faulted the mixed-bloods for their acculturation to white ways in an attempt to explain the schism between the full- and mixed-blood Osage that developed in the mid-19th century.³⁸ Such an assessment, which casts the mixed-bloods as traitors to the Indian cause, does not take into consideration that mixed-bloods were subject to very different historical forces than full-bloods. Third-generation mixed-bloods were imbued with a culture distinct from either Indians or whites, and they defined their prerogatives and social responsibilities in ways that were consistent with that culture.

NOTES

1. "The Indian Trader in the Hudson's Bay Fur Trade Tradition," National Museum of Man Series, vol. 2, no. 28, p. 573. See also Wallis Smith, "Fur Trade and Frontier: Study of Inter-Cultural Alliance," Anthropologica 15 (1973), 21-35.
2. For articles on this subject, see John Elgin Foster, "Origins of the Mixed Blood on the Canadian West," and Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Custom of the Country: An Examination of Fur Trade Marriage Practices," in Essays on Western History, Lewis Thomas, ed., (University of Alberta, 1976), and Harry Anderson,

- "Fur Traders as Fathers: Origins of the Mixed-Blooded Community Among the Rosebud Sioux," South Dakota History 3 (Summer 1973).
3. The Trader on the American Frontier: Myth's Victim (Texas A & M University Press, 1977), 37.
 4. The Osage (Big and Little) produced 60 percent of the packets of skins shipped to New Orleans from the lower Missouri River tribes in 1777. From then until 1804, the percentage of St. Louis's merchants' capital investment in the Osage trade remained relatively constant at between 50 and 55 percent. These figures are extrapolated from the Spanish documents printed in Louis Houck, The Spanish Regime in Missouri, 2 vols., (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons & Co., 1909), 1:53, 87, 93, 101, 139 (1772-77), 209 (1794), and 626 (1800) and Abraham Nasatir, ed., Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804, 2 vols. (St. Louis, 1952), 2:534-44 ("Trudeau to Governor... 1798") and 758-60 ("Chouteau to Gallatin... 1804"--original in the Pierre Chouteau Letterbook, Chouteau Collection, Missouri Historical Society).
 5. Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, 1:139; Ray Allen Billington, Western Expansion, 4th ed., (New York, 1974), 370; John Joseph Mathews, The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters (Norman, Okla., 1961), 295-97; Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark, 2:641-68, 677-80, 687-90.
 6. U.S. Senate Documents, 23d Congress, 1st session, no. 512, vol. 4, p. 228, quoted in Grant Foreman, Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest, Rev. ed., (Norman, Okla., 1936), 19; Louis Burns, "The Fur Trading Ventures of August Pierre Chouteau and Pierre "Cadet" Chouteau," (MA, Teachers' College of Emporia, Kansas State, 1950) and Stella Drumm, "Chouteau's Trading Posts," Dictionary of American History (New York, 1940) 1:369.
 7. Tulsa Daily World (18 Aug. 1935), sec. 4, p. 10; see also John Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County (Philadelphia, 1883), 1:288.
 8. Janet Lecompte, "Jean Pierre Chouteau," in Leroy Hafen, ed., Mountain Men and Fur Trade of the Far West, 10 vols. (Glendale, Calif., 1965-1972), IX, p. 91.
 9. "Extract from the Travels of Perrin du Lac, 1802" in Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark, 2:708. In a "Memorial by [Manuel] Lisa and Others ... 1801" in idem, 655, Lisa wrote of the common practice of traders acquiring Indian wives and children. See Richard Oglesby, Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade of the Far West (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963), 152-53, for the story of Lisa's marriage to Mitain, daughter of an Omaha chief. See also William Unrau, The Kansas Indians (Norman, Okla., 1971), 34.
 10. Frederic Billon, Annals of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1886); Paul Beckwith, Creoles of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1893); Scharf, History of St. Louis ...; and Beatrice Turner, The Chouteau Family (St. Louis, 1934).
 11. Beauregard to Mr. William Lucas, letter of 30 Nov. 1931, Oklahoma Chouteaus' File, Chouteau Collection, Missouri Historical Society (hereafter Ch. Col, MHS). Dr. Emmett Starr worked on the genealogy of the Osage Chouteaus in the 1920s and "found so many descendants [at the Pawhuska agency in Oklahoma] C.E. Chouteau to N. Beauregard, 22 Feb. 1928, in idem.
 12. "Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, Nov. 1, 1792" in Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark (hereafter BLC), 1:162; Mathews, The Osages, 285, 297; John Rydjord, Kansas Place Names (Norman, 1972), 119-20.
 13. Oscar Collet, Index to St. Louis Cathedral and Carondelet Church Records, 3 vols. (St. Louis, 1918), vol. 2 (Baptisms, 1765-1839) and 3 (Burials, 1770-1840), Typescript in Missouri Historical Society. Paul Lquest, legitimate son of Pierre, Sr., was born in 1792 and could not be the parent here. Paul and perhaps Antonio may not have been the issue of trade marriages, but rather the children of either August, Sr., or Laclede by Indian slave women emancipated by the Spanish government. In the "Declarations Received by Pedro Piernas Concerning Indian Slaves at St. Louis, July 12, 1770," two slave women with three sons are listed belonging to the Laclede-Chouteau family; the names of the boys were Paul, Louis, and [ms. torn]. Quoted in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794: Translations of Materials from the Spanish Archives in the Bancroft Library, 3 volumes, published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945, vols. 2-4 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 177.
 14. These baptisms were performed at the trading post of Paul Lquest Chouteau in Bates County, Missouri, and Lquest stood as godfather to Antoine, not as father as has been stated erroneously. ("Paul P. Chouteau is probably a misreading of Paul L. Chouteau.) Curiously, Paul Loise, U.S. interpreter to the Osage, born in 1775, is also called Paul Chouteau; Foreman, "Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe," Collections of the Missouri Historical Society II (1928), 125; Clarence E. Carter, Territorial Papers of the United States (Washington, 1934), 14:243. Osage baptisms of the 19th century are recorded in at least four different registers (for Catholics, that is); the original La Croix baptisms, according to Gilbert Garraghan,

- Jesuits of the Middle United States, 2 vols. (New York, 1938), 2:493-94n., are in the Registre des Baptemes, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, MO., [available on microfilm from the University of Missouri, St. Louis]; for convenience, see the transcription of mixed-blood baptisms, 1822-42, titled "Register Baptismalis Nationis Osagiae," (hereafter BNO), Indians Papers, MHS; the Osage Register (hereafter OR) recording the Osage Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1820-85, is in the archives of the Passionate Monastery, St. Paul, Kans. [available on microfilm from the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka]. Francois Gesseau Chouteau, son of Pierre, Sr., by his second wife, was born in St. Louis in 1797 and possibly could have been the father of James. There were female Chouteaus who were not baptized. OR, vol. 2 (Burials, 1847-76) lists the burial in 1851 of Margarite Chouteau, 38 years old, lawful wife of Joseph Swiss. Baptiste Mongrain, son of Noel was married to the daughter of "Chouteau" in 1832, Washington Irving, Western Journals, ed. John Francis McDermott (Norman, Okla., 1944), 98; see also Janet Leconte, "August Pierre Chouteau," in Hafen, ed., Mountain Men, 9:67n.
15. John C. Ewers, the Great Plains historian, made this argument in 1962 in an article, "Mothers of Mixed-Bloods: the Marginal Woman in the History of the Upper Missouri," in Probing the American West, K. Ross Toole, et al., eds., (Santa Fe, 1962).
 16. The evidence for the first three hypotheses comes from church records primarily: baptismal records from the parishes of St. Charles, Florissant, Carondolet, and St. Louis, enrollment rosters from schools established by missionaries, memoirs and correspondence of clergymen, etc. Archival centers in St. Louis, notably the Chancery, the Provincial Archives, the Vatican Library, St. Louis University, and the National Archives of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, have been tapped. Research is in progress by the author, and support for these hypotheses will be forthcoming in her dissertation, "People of the River: Mixed-Blood Families on the Lower Missouri." See especially, Ch. 1: Métis Prelude. For evidence supporting the hypotheses which has already been published, see, for example, Reverend Van Quickenborne's letter of 1827 to Father Dzierozynski, quoted in William White Graves, History of Neosho County (St. Paul, Kans., 1949) 1:79-87, and Garraghan, Jesuits of the Middle United States 1:186, in which he says descendants of Frenchmen who came to the Osage country in 1775 "have lived for a few years, some at St. Charles, some at Cote Sans Dessein and some at Florissant, where they have been instructed in the true religion." See also, Van Quickenborne to Madame Xavier, 1827, quoted in Garraghan, Saint Ferdinand de Florissant (Chicago, 1923), 209; Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies [1839], John Francis McDermott, ed., (Norman, Okla., 1973), 233; the Missionary Herald 28:120, and the information about the residency patterns of the mixed-blood Kaw in the letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Senate Executive Document 58, 36th Congress 2d session.
 17. Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains (New York, 1883), 106.
 18. Carondolet reported to Don Luis de las Casas in December, 1795 that Don Renato Chouteau had "begun a little colony in the neighborhood of the fort, which is devoted to agriculture. Intercourse with these colonists will end in rendering the habits of those savages more gentle...." Houck, Spanish Regime, 2:100-02. Jean Baptiste Mongrain, half-Pawnee, received a license to trade the same day as Antonio Chouteau; the next day the Chouteaus lent Mongrain money, payable in peltries the following spring. He was apparently killed by Loups near the Arkansas, and his death was quickly avenged by his Osage relatives. Nasatir, BLC, 1:162, 173; 3 Aug. 1792, Ch. Col. MHS. Collet, Index to St. Louis Cathedral ... Records, lists Jean Baptiste Mongrain, 28 July 1773, son of Nicolas and an Indian woman; a son by an Indian woman was baptized in 1794. A son by a Joseph Mongrain and Antoinet Marechal [metisse of the nation of Grand Osages] was baptized in Florissant in 1793. Noel Mongrain, parents not named, was baptized in St. Louis in 1787. His children by Elizabeth (an Osage) were baptized in St. Louis 30 Aug. 1801 - 8 Feb. 1802; a sixth child, Louis, 3 years, by Marie, an Indian, was baptized in April, 1817. Joseph Mongrain and Pierre M. Papin testified in 1820 that Noel and Marie had nine children baptized in St. Louis. However, as Garraghan, JMUS 2:493-94 has observed, this list does not square with the St. Louis records. Noel, it appears, had at least two wives. Marie Pahushan he may not have married until after 1802. Noel still owned a town lot in St. Louis in 1823, Missouri Republican, 13 Aug. 1823. A daughter, Therese, was baptized in St. Louis in 1803 to Joseph Lambert and an Osage woman. La Croix baptized Rosalie Oct. 1809, Antoine Aug. 1811, Pierre 1818, Helene 1819, and Paul 1822, BNO, MHS. In 1830, Van Quickenborne baptized Joseph, son of Joseph Lambert, metis Osage, and Juniapi, an Osage, idem. In 1824, Antoine, Robert, and Ellen, attended the Union Mission

- school. Irving, Western Journals, 112.
19. Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Letterbook, 8 Nov. 1804, 7 Nov. 1804, July 1806, and 2 Oct. 1809, Ch. Col.; "Disbursements by R. Graham, 2 July 1822, and 1 April - 30 June 1822, Graham Col. MHS; Carter, Territorial Papers, 14:57, 108; and Charles Foster Burns, "Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, Fur Trading Magnates," (MA, Washington University, St. Louis, 1932), 45 for totals of peltries sold between 1804 and 1808.
 20. Letter of Pike to Wilkenson, 28 Aug. 1806, in Jackson, ed. Journals of ... Pike, 2: 142-43; Carter, Territorial Papers, 14: 243-44, 290, 292-93; Wayne Morris, "A. P. Chouteau, Merchant Prince at the Three Forks of the Arkansas, Chronicles of Oklahoma 48:2 (Summer 1970), 157n; Letter of P. Chouteau to Thomas Jefferson, 10 Dec. 1808, P. C., Sr., Letterbook, Ch. Col., MHS.
 21. Ovid Bell, Cote Sans Dessein: A History (Fulton, Mo., 1930), 9-29, 33. Thomas M. Marshall, ed., The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates, 2 vols., (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1926), 1:241.
 22. Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, 53-54n, Last Trek of the Indians (New York, 1946), 267, and "Three Forks of the Arkansas," Chronicles of Oklahoma 2:1 (Mar. 1924), 43; Kinnaird, Spain in the Mississippi Valley, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 224-25. Foreman has argued that A. P. was Revoir's partner in 1817, but Lecompte has challenged this in her article, "A. P. C.," 73n; Morris, A. P. Chouteau, 160. Regarding the migration, see Mathews, The Osages, 497, Joseph B. Thoburn, "History of the First White Settlement in Oklahoma," in the Chouteau Family File, Grant Foreman Collection, Oklahoma State Historical Society Archives, (published in the History of Oklahoma I, 1916, 125); and the Reverend F. Vaille's Union Mission Journal, 1820-26, Oklahoma State Historical Society, Library.
 23. A. P. Chouteau at the Ver-di-gris to P. M. Papin, 3 Jan. 1824, Ch. Col., MHS.
 24. A. P. C. to P. M. Papin, 12 Jan. 1824, and P. M. Papin and M. Giraud to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., 20 Nov. 1834, Ch. Col., MHS. It is possible that the Baptiste Noel mentioned in this correspondence is the son on Noel, Jean Baptiste ca. 1790, who rose to a position of influence among the Osage; Courtambert and Tixier, visiting the Osage in 1835 and 1839, respectively, describe Jean Baptiste as chief of the Nion-cho village, Tixier's Travels, 123-24.
 25. Lecompte, "A. P. C.," 73n. gives a list of employees for 1823, quoted from the Ayer Col., Newberry Library, Chicago, which includes Charles Mongin [Mongrain], Julien Peras, Antoine Deshetres, Frances Chardon, and Francis Tayon, all who had kin connections with the Osage. History of Vernon County, Mo., (St. Louis, 1887), 164; Tixier's Travels, 113, 119, 139, 153; Irving, Western Journals, 16, 97, 98, 108, 112; Charles Latrobe, The Rambler in North America (London, 1835), 252, 144-45; Union Mission Journal, 1 Nov. 1823 and 6 Dec. 1824; Graves, Neosho County, 1:163; and Lowrie J. Daly, S.J. and Garrick Bailey, eds., "The Osages and Father John Schoenmaker, S.J." by Father Paul Mary Ponziglione (unpublished manuscript), 28, 59, Vatican Library, St. Louis University Library, St. Louis.
 26. The oldest child, August Clermont, would have to have been born in 1813, if it is the nine-year-old, Augustus Chouteau who entered the Harmony Mission school on the Marais des Cynges River in Feb. 1824. Harmony enrollments quoted in Doris Denton, "Harmony Mission 1821-1837," (MA, University of Kansas, 1929), 34. If August is the child of Rosalia Lambert's sister Masina, (who was living at La Saline during the Irving-Latrobe-Portales-Ellsworth visit of 1832, and identified as the sister of Mr. Chouteau's concubine according to Irving, Western Journals, 108) as has been alleged by Rosalie Lambert herself, then this presents a problem because there are no records of Joseph Lambert's daughter, who would have been old enough to be August Clermont's mother; Therese was born in 1803. His parentage thus remains a mystery. Letter of R. A. Snively to the Missouri Historical Society, n.d. [circa 1936-37], Oklahoma Chouteaus' File, MHS, and Lecompte, "A. P. C.," 67n. It is interesting to speculate about whether the mountain man, "August Clermont," whose biography was written by Harvey Carter in Hafen, ed., Mountain Men 2:95-97, was A. P.'s son. An August Clermont was a parishoner of the St. Charles, Borremeo Church, ca. 1816. "Claremont" was the name of the Osage chief killed in 1816 by the Cherokee, along with Rivard. It may be that Clermont-Claymore was a prominent Osage-French lineage to which the Chouteaus were somehow related. The only baptismal record of A. P.'s Osage children was that of Jesse, alias Gesseau, five years old, baptized by Quickenborne at Harmony Mission in 1827, BNO, MHS. The other source of identification of A. P.'s children is the text of the treaty of 1825, art. 5; see Charles Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties (Washington, 1904), 2:218. The mixed-blood allottees names were August Clermont, James, Paul, Henry, Rosalie, Antoine, and two females named Amelia, whose mothers were She-mehunga (Buffalo Woman) and Mi-hun-ga, respectively. Surnames are not provided for the La Saline allottees, and one

- assumes that Rosalie and Antoine were the Lambert siblings. Curiously, in the Osage Register of 1856, two individuals use the name Lambert and Chouteau interchangeably. Also, in the OR is evidence that Rosalie's sister was not the mother of August Clermont, for in 1848, a child was born to her and ("Little") August Chouteau. See n.29.
27. Louis Alexander Chouteau, two years; John Francis, ten days; Pelagia, three years (mother Chimihanga); and Alexander Liqueste, one year (mother Wahchaimitchacai), all fathered by Liqueste were baptized in 1827; Pierre Chouteau, 14 years, was baptized in 1842 and his mother was Wahussamitchsake, NO, MHS; James, 19 years, was baptized in 1851, and his mother was Mixeinelwin, OR.
 28. A. A. Chouteau was the son of August Chouteau, Sr.; in 1827, A. A.'s two-and-one-half-year-old son was baptized, BNO; he was known as "Little August Chouteau" among the Osage and was often a godparent; he died in 1849, OR. See Letter of A. A. to August Chouteau, Sr., 3 Apr. 1816, Ch. Col., MHS for evidence of his profligacy. The two mixed-blood children of Papin, for whom there are baptismal records, are Edward, two years, baptized in 1840 and whose mother was Sophie Mongrain; (Sophie, herself, 25 years, was baptized in 1843) BNO, and Peter Mellicour Papin, illegitimate son of P. S. Papin and Mitchage, baptized in 1847, OR. Papin was living with Sophie on the Neosho River when Tixier visited in 1839, Tixier's Travels, 116-23, 151, 159, 220-25, 260.
 29. Baptiste and his younger brother, Joseph Noel Mongrain, each had two wives at the Nion-cho village in 1839, Tixier's Travels, 124, 182-83; John Mathews, trader at Fort Gibson, married the two Osage daughters of interpreter Bill Williams, Mathews, The Osages, ix; translation of Louis Cortambert's Voyage au Pays des Osages (ca. 1835) in the Indians' Papers, 1835-36, MHS, 3; Graves, Neosho County, 1:37; "Polygamy was prevalent among the Indians and the white men among them practice it without ceremony or restriction." To have been the mother of two of A. P.'s children, James and Henry, before the treaty of 1825, Rosalie, born in 1809, would have had to have been a child bride. Foreman asserts that the "Mi-hunga" mentioned in the 1825 treaty was the same Mohongo taken by Paul Loise to France in 1827; she was then 18 years old, Carolyn Foreman, Indians Abroad, 133-44, and Ms., Grant Foreman Col., Chouteau Family File, OSHS. I disagree, as "Hongo" was a clan or society among the Osage; Mo-hongo was probably a common name for females affiliated with that clan.
 30. Letter of McFarland to Dr. John Anderson, 14 June 1821, Anderson Family Papers, Microfilm Division, Roll 1, Kansas State Historical Society. For other reports of amicable relations see the Union Mission Journal and Daly and Bailey, Schoenmaker manuscript, already cited. For agent reactions, see Monteford Stokes letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford, 19 Mar. 1839, quoted in Foreman, Pioneer Days, 209, 257-58; and the Journal of Augustin Kennerly, 1832-34, in the Thomas Anderson Moore Collection, MHS, entry for 27 Feb. 1833, 49. For the "obnoxious" Reverend Fixley's correspondence, see the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, in the National Archives, Letters Rec'd, Microfilm Series 234, Roll 631, Osage Agency, 1824-41, letters of 23 June 1824, 27 Apr. 1826, 20 Aug. 1828 (quoted) and Hamtramck's rebuttal, 27 Nov. 1828, which is accompanied by several supporting documents signed by A. P., Liqueste, Baptiste, Mongrain, Pawhuska, and other chiefs. Graves, Neosho County, 1: 37-40, 56-63; Missionary Herald (1821), 17:74, and (1822), 18:214. Van Quickenborne's impressions of 1827 are recorded in Garraghan JMUS, 1:192.
 31. This impression is given in the Osage Register, which records the baptisms of Osages after 1847. The Protestants set up the Union and Harmony missions in the early 1820s near Chouteau posts where many mixed-bloods congregated. The treaty of 1825 set up mixed-blood allotments near Harmony Mission, and many allottees were educated there. The Catholics began making regular visits after 1822, considered setting up a rival mission near Harmony (Garraghan, JMUS, 1:186), but finally established a mission and school in the late 1840s near Flatrock Creek in eastern Kansas. Many mixed-bloods subsequently settled near this mission.
 32. The basis for much of this information is Stokes letter to Crawford, 19 Mar. 1839, Indian Office, Osage reserve file S 1458, which Grant Foreman, Pioneer Days, 257-61 quotes in full. See also, Foreman, "Monteford Stokes in the Indian Territory," North Carolina Historical Review 16:4 (Oct. 1939), p. 395; Lecompte, "A. P. C.," pp. 80-90. Snavely to Beauregard, previously cited in n.17, is another important document. Washington Irving and his party in 1832-33 hired Antoine Lambert to be their guide, and his arrogance was attributed to his being the brother of a concubine of a great white trader. Estates Envelope, 1838-053, MHS, contains copies of papers in the St. Louis Court House regarding the estate of A. P. Chouteau; this includes an affidavit by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., his brother, saying he knew of no

living heirs except those by A. P.'s white wife in St. Louis. By an act of Congress, says Foreman, the Indian heirs of A. P. received compensation for the loss of the slaves.

33. McDermott, ed., Tixier's Travels, 119n. McDermott is incorrect in thinking Edward was P. S.'s heir.
34. Ibid., 86, 113, 148. There was also an Edward Rene Chouteau, son of August, Sr., who was educated at St. Louis University: Garraghan, St. Louis Catholic Historical Review I (1919), 96n. Edward Lquest stood as godfather at a baptism in 1827 in the Osage country, but was enrolled at St. Mary's College, Perry County, between 1827 and 1830; he and LaBarge ran away together. In 1833, he was at Cyprian Chouteau's Kaw post where he aided his old schoolmate LaBarge. Hiram Chittenden, Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, 2 vols., (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1962) 1:19, 34. His children by Rosalie Captaine, who was baptized in 1822, were: Louis Farramond 1838, Marie Louise 1839 (both baptized 1841), Sophie 1842, baptized 1843, and P. L. Chouteau, baptized 1850, d. 1852, BNO and OR. A newspaper clipping, "The Osage Chouteaus" dating from 1904 in the Oklahoma Chouteaus envelope, Ch. Col., MHS, provides much information, some inaccurate, regarding the family. Edward married Julia Christy 8 Aug. 1849 according to Collet's Index of St. Louis Marriages, 1804-76. Edward's will, dated 9 Sept. 1853, is in the Peugnet Collection, MHS.
35. The clipping, "The Osage Chouteaus" cited above, includes the information that Sophie operated a store near Pawhuska; she was married to Che-she-hunka, then Little Bear, and had four children by the latter. Louis was married to Susan Bly in the 1850s according to the OR; he was a fur trader with the Osage and was killed by a drunken outlaw in 1871, Indian-Pioneer History, 32; 49-50, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives. For an excellent study including much information on the mixed-blood Osage between 1868 and 1872, see David Parsons, "The Removal of the Osages from Kansas" (Ph.D., University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1940); regarding claim jumpers on Lewis P.'s land, 267.
36. Lquest's son Alexander (an allottee in the treaty of 1825) was killed during a card game, Indian-Pioneer History, 10:197, OSHS Archives. Pelagia married Gabriel Stratton in 1842 and Peter married Elizabeth Bront, OR for 1840s and 1850s; Indian-Pioneer Collections, 53:96; 61:292; and 77:207, OSHS Archives; Parsons, "The Removal of the Osages from Kansas," 248, 255, 266-74. Daly and Bailey, eds., Schoenmaker ms., 58, 60-62. The Chouteau children at La Saline were tutored by Mr. B. H. Smith, Foreman, Pioneer Days, 92. Gesso was not an allottee in 1825, but he lived to marry Mary Guilbert in the 1840s and fathered children by her; he was living near the Osage mission in 1867, having received a land allotment in the 1865 treaty along with his cousin Peter. Parsons, "The Removal of the Osages," 274, and Graves, Neosho County, 929.
37. In May 1853, Joseph (7 years?) and Antoine (9 years?), sons of August Chouteau and Rosalie Lambert were baptized along with two Negro children "belonging to the Chouteau family in the Cherokee Nation," vol. 2, "Cherokee Nation," OR; the ages of these boys are almost indecipherable, but they clearly are too young to have been sired by A. P. Chouteau, who died in 1838. Rosalie and the children were adopted into the Cherokee tribe, Chouteau Family File, Foreman Col. MS, OSHS Archives. In 1847, a daughter born in 1842, was baptized, Rosalie and Louis Rofe [Ross--a prominent mixed-blood Cherokee family] were the Parents, OR; in 1851, a daughter of Paul Chouteau and Nancy Rofe was baptized, OR. James Chouteau shows up on the Cherokee tribe records in the Indian Archives of the OSHS, vols. 46, 47, and 55 (1876-79). See also the letter to Grant Foreman from Mrs. A.E. Robertson of Htbert [?], Oklahoma, 9 Dec. 1941, Chouteau Family File, Foreman Col., OSHS.
38. Valery Tracy, "Indian in Transition: the Neosho Agency, 1850-1861," Chronicles of Oklahoma 48:2 (Summer 1970), p. 173; Garrick Bailey, "Osage Role: An Analysis," Indian Historian 5:1 (Spring 1972), and Craig Miner, The Corporation and the Indian (Columbia, Mo., 1976).

RENDEZVOUS

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